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Date Printed: 12/31/1997 DOC\_NUMBER: 93KIGALI00522 CHANNEL: n/a 280  
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(E27b)

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 ACTION AF-01

INFO LOG-00	CIAE-00	C-01	OASY-00	DODE-00	EUR-01	HA-09
H-01	INRE-00	INR-01	L-03	ADS-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00
OMB-01	PA-01	PM-02	PRS-01	P-01	RPCS-01	SNP-00
SP-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-01	USIE-00	RPE-01	/026W

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O 091549Z FEB 93  
 FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2951  
 INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
 AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
 AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA  
 AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
 AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
 AMEMBASSY NAIROBI  
 AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 KIGALI 00522

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
 TAGS: PREL, RW  
 SUBJECT: BACK TO ARUSHA?

REFS: (A) KIGALI 00476, (B) KIGALI 00491

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: THE GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCED TODAY THE  
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PAGE 02 KIGALI 00522 01 OF 03 091555Z  
 REMOVAL OF ELEVEN ACTIVE OFFICIALS AS A RESULT OF THE  
 MASSACRES IN GISENYI. THIS IS A GREATER NUMBER THAN  
 WOULD HAVE HAPPENED BEFORE THE CEASEFIRE WAS BROKEN.  
 IT WAS LATER ANNOUNCED THAT, FOLLOWING RECOMMENDATIONS  
 OF THE CLEANUP COMMISSION, TEN MORE BOURGEMESTRES AND  
 A SOUS-PREFET WOULD BE REMOVED. AMONG THEM WERE THE  
 INFAMOUS GATETE OF MURAMBI AND RWAMBUKA OF KANZENZE  
 (BUGESERA). RADIO RWANDA ALSO ANNOUNCED THAT THE RPF  
 HAS KILLED BOURGEMESTRES OF KIDAO, BUTARO AND KINIGI,  
 THE LATTER WITH A MASS GRAVE IN HIS BACKYARD. BUT

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE

REVIEW AUTHORITY:  
 ROBERT R. STRAND

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THE GOVERNMENT SEEKS WILLING TO PROCEED WITH NEGOTIATIONS IN SPITE OF THE CEASEFIRE VIOLATION. FOREIGN MINISTER NGULINZIRA CONDEMNED THE CEASEFIRE VIOLATION AND CALLED ON DIPLOMATS TO HELP PERSUADE THE RPF TO RETURN TO THE TABLE. BUT, PL LEADER MUGENZI HAS STAUNCHLY SUPPORTED THE RPF IN ITS LATEST GAMBIT AND HAS NOW PROPOSED THAT THE AGREEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT TO ALL ASPECTS OF THE JANUARY 9 PROTOCOL SHOULD BE A PRECONDITION FOR THE RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS. HE SEEKS TO BE IN CAHOOTS WITH THE RPF WHO HAVE INVITED THE PARTIES TO A MEETING IN BRUSSELS ON FEBRUARY 11. I HAVE URGED THE PARTIES TO BE SURE THAT THE MRND IS INCLUDED IN SUCH A MEETING SHOULD IT TAKE PLACE. END SUMMARY.

## CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

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3. THE SPOKESMAN OF THE GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCED THIS MORNING AT 0630 THE NAMES OF THOSE BEING SUSPENDED FOR IMPROPER OR INADEQUATE ACTION DURING THE GISENYI

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PAGE 03 KIGALI 00522 01 OF 03 091555Z MASSACRES. INCLUDED ON THE LIST WERE: THE PREFET OF GISENYI, TWO SOUS-PREFETS, FOUR BOURGEMESTRES AND TWO COUNSELORS WHO HAD BEEN FILLING IN FOR BOURGEMESTRES.

4. EVEN MORE INTERESTING, WAS THE SUSPENSION OF TWO POLITICAL PERSONALITIES FROM KIGALI: LEON MUGESERA, THE INFAMOUS COUNSELOR IN THE MINISTRY OF THE FAMILY WHO MADE THE INITIAL OUTRAGEOUS SPEECH OF INCITEMENT IN THE AFFECTED AREAS OF GISENYI; AND, CHRISTOPHE NDANGALI, DIRECTOR OF CABINET OF THE MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION.

5. THUS, A TOTAL OF ELEVEN MRND/CDR OFFICIALS HAVE BEEN SUSPENDED IN FULFILLMENT OF THE PROMISES MADE BY THE PRESIDENT AND THE PRIME MINISTER DURING DIPLOMATIC MEETINGS ON FEBRUARY 5 AND 6 AND ANNOUNCED ON FEBRUARY 6 AND 7.

6. COMMENT: THIS IS ALMOST CERTAINLY A GREATER NUMBER THAN WOULD HAVE BEEN SACKED BEFORE THE RPF ATTACK OF FEBRUARY 8. MUGENZI TOLD ME THAT THE MINISTER OF INTERIOR HAD PLANNED TO SUSPEND ONLY ONE

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BOURGEMESTRE. THE MINISTER OF INTERIOR TOLD ME THAT HE WAS READY TO REPLACE THREE BOURGEMESTRES AND A SOUS-PREFET THE MORNING OF FEBRUARY 8, BUT WITHHELD ACTION AFTER THE ATTACK BECAME KNOWN. END COMMENT.

7. THE MINISTER OF INTERIOR ALSO TOLD ME LATE MORNING FEBRUARY 8, THAT THE PRESIDENT HAD NOT AGREED TO THE SUSPENSION OF THE PREFET OF GISENYI. HE EXPLAINED THAT THE PREFET WAS AN OLD FRIEND OF THE

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PRESIDENT, A MAN WHO HAD SERVED HABYARIMANA AS CHIEF OF INTELLIGENCE (SCR)

QVZQV WOULD TELL ME THAT THE ONLY WAY THAT THE PRESIDENT COULD BE PERSUADED TO MOVE THE PREFET WAS IF THE AMERICAN AND FRENCH AMBASSADORS MADE SUCH A PITCH. I TOLD MUNYAZESA THAT I HAD MADE IT ABSOLUTELY CLEAR TO THE PRESIDENT TWO TIMES LAST WEEK THAT KEY PERSONS MUST BE REMOVED. I COULD TELL HIM THAT I BELIEVED

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	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-02	PRS-01	P-01	RPCS-01	SNP-00
	SP-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-01	USIE-00	RPE-01	/026W

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O 091549Z FEB 93  
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2952  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI  
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 KIGALI 00522

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PREL, RW  
SUBJECT: BACK TO ARUSHA?

THAT THE PREFET, BEING THE MOST RESPONSIBLE FOR THE AREA, WAS ONE OF THOSE WHO SHOULD BE MOVED. I IMMEDIATELY CALLED RUHIGIRA AND GAVE HIM THE SAME MESSAGE AND ASKED HIM TO PASS TO THE PRESIDENT MY VIEW THAT THE PREFET SHOULD BE AMONG THOSE REMOVED,  
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NOT BECAUSE I KNEW THAT HE HAD DONE ANYTHING WRONG, BUT SIMPLY BECAUSE THAT AS THE ONE MAN MOST RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PREFECTURE, HE HAD TO TAKE THE WRAP, AND IT SEEMED THAT IN THE PRESENT ENVIRONMENT AT LEAST THAT MUCH WOULD BE NEEDED TO SATISFY THE RPF. THE CABINET MET LATE IN EVENING FEBRUARY 8, AND THIS MORNING'S ANNOUNCEMENT WAS A RESULT.

8. NO DOUBT THE REMOVAL OF MUGESERA AND NDANGALI WERE THE SURPRISES THAT THE PRIME MINISTER PREDICTED IN OUR FEBRUARY 6 MEETING (KIGALI 00491).

GOVERNMENT ATTITUDES

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9. THIS AFTERNOON IT WAS ANNOUNCED THAT UNDER THE TERMS OF THE PREVIOUS CLEANUP RECOMMENDATIONS, TWO OTHER BOURGEMESTRES WOULD BE SUSPENDED, AND A SOUS-PREFET AND EIGHT BOURGEMESTRES WOULD BE FIXED. AMONG THEM ARE THE INFAMOUS GATETE OF MURAMBI AND RWAMBUKA OF KANZENZE (BUGESERA). MORE DRAMATIC WAS THE ANNOUNCEMENT THAT THE RPF HAD KILLED THE

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BOURGEMESTRES OF KIDAGO, BUTARO AND KINIGI, THE LATTER EXPOSED BY THE INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS VISIT IN JANUARY FOR LEAVING A MASS GRAVE IN HIS BACKYARD. THE RPF ALSO KILLED A JUDGE OF THE RUHENERI PREFECTURE COURT OF FIRST INSTANCE AND TWO OF HIS CHILDREN. HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS DESCRIBED THIS JUDGE AS AN OLD AND HONEST MAN WHOSE DEATH WAS PROBABLY ACCIDENTAL.

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10. FOREIGN MINISTER NGULINZIRA SUMMONED THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS TO THE FOREIGN MINISTRY THIS NOON FOR A BRIEFING ON THE SITUATION. HE DESCRIBED THE RPF ACTION AS A FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF THE CEASEFIRE. HE SAID THIS VIOLATION CAME AT THE EXACT MOMENT WHEN THE GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA WAS DOING ALL POSSIBLE TO RESTORE THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS. HE CALLED ON THE DIPLOMATIC COMMUNITY TO USE ALL MEANS POSSIBLE TO PERSUADE THE RPF TO ACCEPT PEACE AND TO RETURN TO THE NEGOTIATIONS. HE ALSO CALLED ON THE DIPLOMATIC COMMUNITY AND ESPECIALLY THE DONORS TO HELP WITH THE NEW DISPLACED CAUSED BY THE CEASEFIRE VIOLATIONS. HE COULD GIVE NO NUMBERS ON NEW DISPLACED. THE BOTTOM LINE FOR THE FOREIGN MINISTER IS THAT THIS IS A PROBLEM WHICH DOES NOT HAVE A MILITARY SOLUTION, AND, THEREFORE, IT MUST BE SOLVED BY NEGOTIATIONS. ASKED ABOUT RPF PRECONDITIONS FOR THE RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS, HE SAID THEY WERE MOSTLY BEING FULFILLED.

11. FOREIGN MINISTER NGULINZIRA SAID THAT RWANDA HAD NO PRECONDITIONS FOR THE CONTINUATION OF TALKS. HE SAID THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS COULD RESUME AS SOON AS THE CEASEFIRE WAS RESTORED, BUT THAT WAS NOT A PRECONDITION SINCE THEY WOULD BE NEGOTIATING TERMS FOR THE RESTORATION OF THE CEASEFIRE.

12. IN SEPARATE MEETINGS WITH THE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE AND THE CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE GENDARMERIE, WE GAINED THE IMPRESSION THAT THIS ATTACK HAD BEEN EXPECTED FOR SOME TIME. WE SENSED

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 THAT THE RWANDAN ARMY AND QBN DAR MERIE WAS SPREAD THIN  
 TO MAHAGE BOTH THE POTENTIAL INVASION ZONES AND THE  
 MOVEMENT OF DISPLACED TO THE SOUTH, BUT WE SENSED NO  
 PANIC.

13. THE MOST INTERESTING COMMENT WAS BY THE DIRECTOR  
 OF CABINET OF THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE, COL. BAGOSORA,  
 A KNOWN HARDLINER. WHEN ASKED WHAT THE OBJECTIVE OF  
 THE INVASION WAS, HE SAID, ALMOST CHEERFULLY, THAT  
 WAR IS JUST AN EXTENSION OF DIPLOMACY. HE SEEMED

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	H-01	INRE-00	INR-01	L-03	ADS-00		
NSAE-00	NSCE-00						
OMB-01	PA-01	PM-02	PRS-01	P-01	RPCS-01	SNP-00	
SP-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-01	USIE-00	RPE-01	/026W	
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O 091549Z FEB 93  
 FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2953  
 INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
 AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
 AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA  
 AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
 AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
 AMEMBASSY NAIROBI  
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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PREL, RW  
SUBJECT: BACK TO ARUSHA?

PERFECTLY WILLING TO CONTINUE THE TALKS IN ARUSHA,  
EVEN AS THE FIGHTING CONTINUES.

THE PARTIES AND THE RPF

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14. THE LEADERS OF THE MDR, PL AND THE PSD HAVE BEEN MEETING ALMOST CONSTANTLY SINCE THE CEASEFIRE BROKE YESTERDAY. THEY PLAN TO PUT OUT A COMMUNIQUE TODAY WELCOMING THE ACTION OF THE GOVERNMENT IN SUSPENDING GISENYI LEADERS, NOTING THAT IT IS NOT ENOUGH, THAT OTHER GUILTY OFFICIALS SHOULD ALSO BE MOVED, AND URGING THE RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE RPF. THIS IS AN ADVANCE SUMMARY PROVIDED BY MUGENZI OF A COMMUNIQUE WHICH WILL UNDOUBTEDLY BE SOMEWHAT MORE COMPLICATED.

15. MUGENZI HAS ALSO BEEN IN TOUCH WITH THE RPF OVER THE LAST COUPLE OF DAYS, AND HE ACCEPTS THE JUSTIFICATIONS WHICH THE RPF HAVE GIVEN FOR RETURNING TO THE BATTLEFIELD. THAT IS, HE ACCEPTS THEIR STATEMENT THAT THEY ATTACKED BECAUSE THEY COULDN'T STAND THE MASSACRES OF TUTSIS IN GISENYI. THEY COULD NOT STAND IDLY BY. THEY SAID THEY WERE SIMPLY FOLLOWING UP ON THE JUDGMENT OF THE PRIME MINISTER THAT ALL THOSE PEOPLE IN GISENYI THAT PERPETRATED THESE OUTRAGES WERE BANDITS.

16. MUGENZI IS ESSENTIALLY UNMOVED BY THE PLIGHT OF THE RENEWED DISPLACED, BLAMING IT ALL ON HABYARIMANA WHO'S FOLLOWERS PERPETRATED THE MASSACRES IN GISENYI.

17. MUGENZI NOW REPORTS THAT THE RPF HAS AGREED TO MEET WITH THE POLITICAL PARTIES IN BRUSSELS ON THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 11. MUGENZI SOUGHT MY VIEWS. I TOLD HIM WHAT I HAD TOLD HIM A THOUSAND TIMES, THAT

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IS IF THEY WISH TO MEET WITH THE RPF THEY SHOULD BE  
SURE THAT THE MRND IS WITH THEM, THIS TIME ESPECIALLY  
IN LIGHT OF THE CEASEFIRE VIOLATION. MUGENZI SAID,  
FINE, I SHOULD INVITE THEM. I TOLD HIM THAT HE  
SHOULD INVITE THEM. I SAID THAT I THOUGHT IT WOULD  
BE USEFUL FOR THEM TO HAVE A COMMITMENT FROM THE RPF  
TO A CEASEFIRE BEFORE GOING INTO FURTHER DISCUSSIONS.  
MUGEMZI SAID THEIR PRECONDITION WOULD BE THAT BEFORE  
NEGOTIATIONS RESUME, HABYARIMANA MUST ACCEPT ALL  
CONDITIONS OF THE JANUARY 9 PROTOCOL. HE SAID THAT  
WITHOUT THAT THERE WOULD BE NO CEASEFIRE AND THERE  
WOULD BE NO NEGOTIATIONS IN ARUSHA. FLATEN

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\*\*\* Current Handling Restrictions \*\*\* n/a  
\*\*\* Current Classification \*\*\* CONFIDENTIAL

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